UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

Wealth or Welfare

By H. R. Mussey

Anglo-Russian Rivalry, A Menace to World Peace

By Taraknath Das

American Notes

By Sydney Strong

VOLUME XCVI NUMBER 6

Chicago, October 26, 1925

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

(Established 1878)

A JOURNAL *of the* RELIGION *of* DEMOCRACY

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE Pamphlet Mission FOR FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER IN RELIGION.

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PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

FRANCIS L. ROBBINS, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVI MONDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1925 NUMBER 6

OUR DEBT TO INDIA

"It was in India that one of the five liberalizing discoveries of the modern world was made. I refer to the Rig Veda, the oldest portion of what is probably the oldest bible in the world. A direct and immediate result of that discovery was the science of comparative religion which, though still in its infancy, has made a succession of remarkable revelations to us of the western world. Of the indirect and remote results of this discovery, the most important by far was the Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893. That mammoth convention brought together representatives of 128 varieties of religion. But that Parliament had its prototype in another Parliament organized 350 years before, namely the *Thadat Khana* or "House of Discussion" founded by Akbar, the Mogul emperor of India. Here, every Thursday evening, he presided over a gathering of representatives of the religions of India: Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, Christianity. It was at one of the sessions of this Parliament that a participant gave utterance to the following noble sentiment: *'If thou art a Mussulman, go mix with the Franks. If thou art a Jew, associate with Christians. Whatever be thy religion, associate with those who think differently from thee. If thou canst mix with them freely and art not angered at hearing their discourse, thou hast attained peace and art a veritable master of creation' . . ."*

—Alfred W. Martin.

President Coolidge speaks so seldom that any public utterance of his is an event of more than usual importance. His address before the American Legion at Omaha certainly calls for comment. At the outset one is tempted to vigorous dissent to what the President had to say about the War and its significance. We are frankly amazed at Mr. Coolidge's statement that the legionaires "saved civilization from a gigantic reverse." Imagine anybody, let alone the head of a great nation, declaring that the War was fought to settle the question "whether the principles of despotism or the principles of liberty should be the prevailing standard among the nations." Russia was battling for liberty in 1914-1917 very much as Mussolini is battling for it today! The President's mind, like that of millions of common folk, is still dwelling in the mythology of Allied war propaganda—or else he was just trying to be polite to the deceived "crusaders" whom he was addressing! But these opening passages well out of the way, Mr. Coolidge went on to heights of utterance which he has seldom if ever scaled before. Here were words which were as wise as they were courageous, as noble in thought as they were serene in temper. Note his castigation of intolerance—his bold enconium of charity and good will! The legionaires, of course, never even glimpsed the application of these statements to themselves. Like men and women in the pews of churches, they were eager to let their neighbors put on the cap—in this case the Ku Klux Klan. But the shaft went home all the same! Better still was the President's denunciation of militarism, and his specific notification to army and navy officers that in a republic the civilian arm is supreme, and that any attempt to master it for military purposes is a betrayal of democracy. Here, as in other passages of this great speech, spoke a true and valiant American! Never in his career has President Coolidge appeared to such good advantage as during this hour when he told these soldiers of the Great War what is becoming to the thought and conduct of the citizens of this country.

The growing protest against the action of American airmen in volunteering for service in the French armies in Morocco—a protest which has resulted in a government warning to the individuals concerned—must be taken as a most healthy sign. It indicates at least a certain sensitiveness to the gallant struggle for independence in which the Riffians are engaged, and a recognition of the fact that there are some kinds of wars which are disreputable. Yet we find it difficult and believe it dangerous to take this protest too seriously. The solemn way in which the great liberal weeklies have discussed the matter, for example, has seemed to us little short of ridiculous. Suppose, for example, that it was not Riffians who were fighting for independence against the French but Filipinos who were fighting against Americans; or suppose it was not black Africans who were rising up against a French occupation but black Haitians who were rising up against an American occupation. How much protest would there be in this country against American fliers mounting their machines and dropping down bombs upon native villages? Our own guess is that these fliers would be applauded, just as they were applauded when they bombed the cities and towns of Germany in the Great War. Which brings us to the further question of wars reputable and disreputable! How is it possible any longer to make distinctions in this matter of wholesale human butchery? What do we mean when we say that killing is heroic and glorious in one case and mean and cowardly in another? Of course there are conditions which make a crime, or a tragedy of any kind, more or less pitiable. A woman or a child slaughtered in cold blood stirs us more profoundly than a strong man similarly slain. So the spectacle of a feeble little group of African tribesmen fallen upon by two militaristic European powers like France and Spain, seems more horrible than the spectacle of a great nation, like

Germany or France herself, battling against her enemies. Our feeling about Belgium in the Great War tells the whole story! But, at bottom, what's the difference? How discriminate in this business of destruction and death? To our mind, a German woman killed by an American bomb is as dreadful a sight as a Riffian woman killed by an American bomb. If we are sincere, we would have protested as vigorously against what American airmen were doing in Germany in 1918 as against what these airmen are doing in Morocco in 1925.

Those of us who never thought that the much-tooted Washington Conference amounted to anything, are finding abundant confirmation of our judgment in the present naval policy of Great Britain. The whole Conference proceeding was so ridiculous and obvious a farce that nobody older than a babe in arms had any reason for being flim-flammed. Disarmament? There was no disarmament! There was only a transfer of armament from one type of weapon to another. Relatively speaking, we have identically the same situation of war-preparedness on a competitive scale today that we had back in the days before the war. The best recent statement of this fact that we have seen is contained in an article in the September issue of *Foreign Affairs* (London) by Lieutenant-Commander the Honorable J. M. Kentworthy, R. N., M. P. Speaking of England as the center of naval rivalry today, just as she has always been, this distinguished officer writes as follows:

> The unobservant and uninformed thought, for a time, that the Washington Conference had placed a check on the race in naval armaments.
>
> But the Admirals and militarists present were not quite so simple as that. Nor was the absence of the usual influence of the armament-making firms very noticeable. Public opinion, and the Ministers of Finance at its head in the various countries insisted on a cessation of the battleship building competition. But no limit was set to the number of cruisers to be built. All that was done was to limit the size of the vessels and the size of the guns they carried. The British Admiralty permitted themselves to agree to an eight-inch gun as the maximum gun to be carried by a modern cruiser, although no modern vessel in any Navy carried anything larger than a six-inch gun, except certain British cruisers of the Hawkins type carrying a 7.5 inch gun. The eight-inch gun, being permitted, at once became the minimum and the British Admiralty calmly turned round and declared that all vessels armed with anything smaller were obsolescent. And yet no British modern cruiser carried the eight-inch gun. The device served. The Labour Government last year was bullied into the minimum laid down of five cruisers, though there was nothing in the naval situation to warrant it. This year, after a strenuous fight, the Admiralty has carried its programme of sixteen cruisers for the years 1925-30. . . .
>
> These 10,000 ton cruisers are of a very special type. They have been designed regardless of expense. For they are the new "dreadnoughts." By great ingenuity the constructors have managed to crowd into a displacement of only 10,000 tons engines capable of driving these vessels through the water at a speed of thirty-five knots or over forty miles an hour. These vessels will carry the colossal armament of nine or ten eight-inch guns of great range and power in armoured turrets. They will cost well over £2,000,000 each.

The meaning of all this is obvious. "We are back in exactly the same position," says Lieut.-Commander Kentworthy, "as in the years 1906 to 1914." If it is continued, "the result will be the same in a few years" —namely, another great war, with revolution and ruin in its train. We cannot move fast enough in acheiving a type of disarmament which means business. Yet Europe says that disarmament can come only after "security"—as though security were not obviously impossible so long as armaments exist!

The days of Soviet Russia's unpopularity in this country are apparently over. Indeed, we shall be surprised if the Bolsheviki do not become the standard of all wisdom and virtue for a considerable portion of our citizenry. For have they not abandoned Prohibition? Have they not restored forty per cent vodka as a legal beverage? Wine-shops are everywhere opening, we are told in the current newspaper dispatches. Long lines of people stand day and night before the doorways of these shops—lines longer than those which gathered before the bread distribution stations in the old days of famine. Here is an amazing reform—a return to the old Tsaristic days which will set the "wets" in this country yelping from coast to coast. Nothing will now be too good for the Bolsheviki. Their government, instead of being regarded as the essence of all that is horrible, will now be cited as wise, good, beneficent, democratic, free—everything that is perfect and lovely. Recognition will of course be urged on every hand. All because Russia has restored drunkenness to honor, and thus made the land of the Soviets a paradise! It is an interesting spectacle—and one which we, as a friend of the new Russia and a confirmed "dry," can only regard with regret and alarm. Russia has taken not a few backward steps since the revolution, but none quite so serious as this re-establishment of the liquor traffic. For generations vodka has been the curse of the Russian people. Bolshevik vodka is less potent than old regime vodka, but forty per cent of this brew should eat the stomach out of a man and rot his brain forever. Of course, this "wet" policy makes for the popularity of the Soviets, especially among the older peasantry. It brings in huge taxes. It makes the people more easily manageable. But these advantages, if they be advantages, are bought at a price which we feel the Bolsheviki can ill afford to pay. This one event has done more to shake our faith in the vision, courage and wisdom of the Soviets than anything that has happened since the great days of 1917. It dims the whole future of this vast experiment in a new type of social order.

The Episcopal bishops are well satisfied, we imagine, by their deposition of their colleague, William Montgomery Brown. They have written *finis* to the tale just where it has been written in the case of all such tales that have been since the beginning of ecclesiastical history. But what an uncertain *finis* it is! In Bernard Shaw's great tragedy of "St. Joan," he comes to what is apparently the end of the play—the trial, condemna-

tion and execution of the heretical maid. But the final colloquy is uncertain—

The Executioner—Her heart would not burn, my lord; but everything that was left is at the bottom of the river. You have heard the last of her.
Warwick—The last of her? Hm! I wonder!

Then comes the Epilogue which so few people seem to have understood. For Joan is not dead—her story is not finished! On the contrary, the drama of her life goes right straight on, down to this twentieth century and beyond! And Shaw in his Preface tells us why:

As to the epilogue, I could hardly be expected to stultify myself by implying that Joan's history in the world ended unhappily with her execution, instead of beginning there.

As with Joan, so with every heretic, including this last one, Bishop Brown. If there is any sure recipe for immortality, it is *"Be a heretic!"* The members of the Episcopal House of Bishops have deposed their brother today, only to elevate him into a position of permanent influence through tomorrows without end. When every bishop sitting in this House has been forgotten—when Manning and Talbot and Freeman are meaningless names on a page of records which is no longer read—Bishop William Montgomery Brown will be remembered and his name cherished as a living symbol of fidelity and devotion. One thing we have never yet been able to understand—why the champions of orthodoxy should in every age be so zealous in canonizing the heretics whom they most fear and hate!

The death of George D. Herron stirs curious and touching memories. First of all there stands forth his valiant championship of a socialized Christianity. Dr. Herron was a young Congregational clergyman in those days, a full generation and more ago. Young, eloquent, passionate, idealistic, a good scholar, an able preacher, an ardent lover of his kind, he presented the age-old battle between Christ and Caesar with an incisiveness and courage that stirred his contemporaries to the depths. This was before the age of Josiah Strong, Washington Gladden, Walter Rauschenbusch—these men were just getting under way, and George Herron, like the Baptist at old Jordan, ran before them! Next comes the tragic story of the "scandal." With the rights and wrongs of this we have never been concerned—we are not even familiar with the facts. All we have cared about is the one fact with which we *are* familiar—that a personal tragedy was used by cruel men to get rid of a man who was speaking unwelcome truth to the established order in church and state. There was no pity for Herron in his hour of need, no attempt even to understand. His enemies, the great and good among us, simply fell on him like wolves and rent him limb from limb. Then came the long years of exile and obscurity. Herron disappeared—to rise again to the surface of public affairs during the War, when he suddenly became one of the most savage critics of Germany. It was as though, long nursing his dreadful injury, he had found at last the victim on whom he could wreak his vengeance. Who that read his book—"The Menace of Peace," for example—in 1917 and 1918 can forget their hectic passion, the hysterical italicizations and capitalizations, the furious fanaticism of Allied hate! Of course these books brought their author into favor in America, and led to informal diplomatic services, the exact character of which still lies hidden in the shadows. Then came the disillusionment—and the most glorious episode of Herron's life. In the face of the abomination of Versailles, the old prophet came to life again, and smote iniquity. To his everlasting credit be it said that Herron was one of the few fierce advocates of the Allied cause who confessed publicly his sin and sought to undo the evil done. His retractions after Versailles should be remembered as among the immortal documents of the post-War period. A broken, wayward life, but one of unflinching sincerity and implicit heroism.

Wealth or Welfare

"The peculiar curse of our age," remarks Mr. W. A. Robson in a recent suggestive book, "is the monetary interpretation of welfare." We assume that the bigger a man's income the better off he is, and that to increase his income is to increase his well-being in some roughly correspondent way. Hence we organize economic life on the further assumption that the one way to get effective production is to encourage men to strive for the increase of individual income.

The truth is far different. A low minimum of income is indeed a well-nigh indispensable condition of good living, and a society that has not succeeded in assuring this minimum to all its citizens has failed to attain the first essential to a worthy democratic social life. But beyond that minimum, additions to individual income mean surprisingly little as regards the actual welfare of their recipients. The most of us ordinary people in the United States today in fact have all the income we need, however much more we may happen to want, for good reasons or bad. If the reader doubts this, let him sit down and consider soberly in what respects his life would be changed if his income were increased by ten per cent or by a half, or if it were even doubled. He will doubtless think of various things that he might have or enjoy in greater degree; he is a rare man who will discover that the essential quality of life would be greatly changed for him, unless he thinks of the added income as giving him greater security. As regards well-being, the difference between nothing and a very little is infinite; the difference between a

very little and a great deal is infinitesimal. Wealth, wisely handled, may mean welfare; distributed and used, as so largely at present, without thoughtful consideration, it may mean nothing.

To make the argument more specific, Mr. Robson's analysis may be noted. He deals with but four elements of welfare: health, art, work and education. As to health—not in the negative sense of getting cured of disease, but in the positive sense of being vigorously well—he shows easily enough that individual income cannot buy health. It is not the men in the best-paid occupations that are the healthiest. In fact, as things go, big incomes may be by no means favorable to health. The conditions of individual hygiene are simple and inexpensive. If income is big enough to buy adequate food, shelter and clothing, it has almost nothing more to do with health, though of course the rich can hire expensive doctors when they fall sick. But the habits of eating, dressing, breathing, sleeping, walking and working that make us positively healthy may with almost equal ease be cultivated by rich and poor alike.

In any case, two things are certain. First, occupational disease, using that term in its widest sense, has nothing to do with income, but with the conditions under which it is earned. You cannot make metal polishing a healthful occupation by paying the operatives fifty dollars a day; instead, you must introduce into your factory a good system of fans and blowers, together with proper hygienic and medical care. Second, outside of working surroundings, the conditions of living, particularly in cities, are chiefly determined by collective and not individual action. No amount of individual wealth can purchase immunity from the corroding smoke of Chicago or Cleveland, the noise, rush and fearful crowding of New York, the dirt of some of our backward cities. Millionaire and pauper alike are subject to their ceaseless wear and tear, their sudden insidious attacks on health. Moreover, most of the astonishing health progress of the past half century has been accomplished through collective action in improving the common health environment. Health has become literally public health, and no one is foolish enough to imagine any longer that he can buy health by himself. Further progress is to be attained by widening the sphere of common action, and the intelligent man, looking purely to his own individual interest, may well choose to see his individual income eaten into by taxes for well directed public-health work.

It is needless to do more than suggest a few points in Mr. Robson's ingenious argument concerning art, education and work. Clearly enough, the ability to create and to enjoy beautiful things does not vary according to income. Increase of income does not of itself increase such power in the slightest. If what we want is the maximum of aesthetic enjoyment, then opportunities for it ought not be distributed on the basis of private income, and the argument runs in favor of the public gallery, not the private collection. Similarly with reference to that infinite variety of abilities whose development is the true object of education. They are not allotted according to income, and the community that wants them developed to the full cannot leave education to the unregulated action of private demand and supply on a commercial basis. It must, so to speak, broadcast opportunity through collective provision, letting its citizens share on the basis of capacity. As for work, the fat income of the banker who really wanted to be a farmer is poor compensation for his lack of genuine interest in his work. The adjustment of capacity and inclination to work is one of the basic elements in well-being, and in our mad hurrah over every man for himself we have not yet so much as stated this problem to ourselves. The difficulty of solving it we have enormously increased by attaching huge financial rewards to certain lines of activity, like advertising and high-grade salesmanship, whose contribution to welfare is often insignificant. In all these fields, by assuming that increased individual income means increased welfare, and that a society of growing wealth progressively less unequally distributed is automatically experiencing an increase of welfare, we throw away the possibilities of greater well-being that lie in increased wealth.

We need a new basis of valuation, and the much-berated economist is feeling his way toward it, however many of his tribe are simply singing the old tune of greater welfare through more profits through higher efficiency. A book like Pigou's "Economics of Welfare," criticize it as we may, is yet an essay in the right direction. We have got to come back to Ruskin and think in terms of life, vague and difficult though it be. Thinking in those terms, we shall discover that much of our conventional economics and more of our current business, not to say many of our popular reform movements, are based on an unproved and unprovable assumption of the identity of wealth and welfare, and that in pursuit of that assumption we are led into vain activities and into hostile relations with other men deceived like ourselves. Discovering at last that the goods of life are not the forms of wealth, but are life itself, we shall finally cease from our silly envy of our millionaires and our vain efforts to make poor people well off simply by making them rich. Turning our thoughts to the true elements of well-being, we shall cease from many bootless controversies and shall devote ourselves to the task of creating the specific conditions of actual welfare. We may not bring the millennium, but we shall turn our faces toward the sun.

H. R. Mussey.

Jottings

Viscount Grey (Sir Edward), in his recently published memoirs, undertakes to defend the concealment from Parliament and the English people of England's agreements with France and Russia before the War. Had these agreements been made known, he says, the English government would have been compelled "to tell the whole truth." The prospect of a government being obliged to tell the truth, to say nothing of the "whole truth," is indeed so horrible that we feel the noble lord may be said to have proved his case.

A monster petition on behalf of compulsory arbitration of international disputes is being circulated in England. This is an answer, we take it, to the Government's cynical attitude toward this question at Geneva and elsewhere.

The sermon of the Archbishop of Canterbury before the recent Church of England Congress at Eastbourne is a bitter pill for the optimists. The Archbishop concedes frankly the fact of "decreased attendance" in the churches. Seeking causes, he says that "bicycles, motors and charabancs (whatever these are!) contribute. . . . So do golf and Sunday newspapers." But he puts also "among the first causes the fact of the average man's wider interest in all sorts of human knowledge and world affairs." It's a new world, in other words, and the church is finding it increasingly hard to survive.

But every dog has his day—even the optimist! Thus, our leading theological schools are all reporting an increased enrollment of students. Recovery from the great slump of the war period is now beyond question.

Clement M. Biddle, of New York City, has offered $1200 in prizes to school boys and girls for the best answers to the question as to the twelve greatest heroes in history. The contest is now under way, and ends on Goodwill Day next May. One reply, received from Colorado, lists the following: Alexander the Great, Alfred the Great, Napoleon, Pompey, Julius Caesar, Augustus Caesar, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Nathaniel Greene, Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, John J. Pershing. With such a "starter," we shall watch results with interest.

The November 9th issue of UNITY will be an Armistice Day number. The day (November 11th) itself should everywhere be observed with a solemnity befitting its momentous memories. J. H. H.

American Notes

(Editorial Correspondence)

I.

Why are Americans often so intolerant? This may be accounted for perhaps in several ways. First, they have been, through their physical environment, a provincial people. They were really, for many decades, an island people, cut off from close touch with other nations. Islanders, I suppose, cannot easily escape looking upon foreign things with suspicion. The spirit of tolerance springs from frequent contacts. Further, for more than a hundred years, Americans were slave-holders. Slavery of the Negro entered into the very warp and woof of American life, so much so that it was the "cause" of a terrible civil war. Slavery bred a spirit of intolerance which, after the institution of slavery had gone, entered into other human relations, showing itself in lynchings, in Ku Klux Klanism, in bitter religious controversies, in exclusion laws, etc. All through American life, however, there has been a strong current of generosity and good will, due perhaps to the big-heartedness generally produced in an outdoor, western people. Americans, like other peoples, were tolerant when they wanted immigrants; now that the West has been settled up it is easy to get narrow and shut the door. America too has become suddenly rich, perhaps the richest people in the world—this along with her provincialism, which generally carries ignorance, tends to make her conservative and fearful. For example, a man like Trotsky came into the country, ten years ago, unnoticed, while a man like Saklatvala sends a shiver down the back of "Wall St."

There is one thing that may help make America more tolerant, Professor Herbert Feis, of the University of Cincinnati, points out. It is the vast foreign investments that America has recently taken on. While the conservatism of the rich may continue, there will come a knowledge of foreign countries which will be sure to produce a more liberal spirit. The U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce estimated that at the end of 1924 about $9,000,000,000 of American capital was invested abroad. During 1924 alone $928,000,000 was invested. More than a fourth of the American capital now invested abroad has gone to Canada, with nearly half of the total loans going to Latin American countries. This will compel Americans to concern themselves more with distant causes and probably produce a more conciliatory and internationally minded spirit. It should be added that the necessity upon Americans for three centuries to engage in the conquest of a West that extended over a continent of 3,000 miles doubtless made them ready to resort to rough and ready methods of justice; to quick action that bred intolerance.

II.

I recently heard Charles S. Reed address the Young Men's Republican Club on Prison Reform. What he said will help one to understand what is being done in some prisons in America. He has been engaged in prison work for over thirty years, as warden of the state prison of Washington, later of the state prison of Minnesota, and still later as warden of the state prison of Michigan. He believes in what he calls the "industrial system" in prisons. During his six years in Min-

nesota he stated that he "handled an annual business of $5,000,000 in the manufacture of binder twine and farm machinery; paid $100,000 in wages per year to inmates; maintained all dependent families of inmates; paid all upkeep expenses of the institution, and turned back $2,500,000 profit to the state treasury." He declared that—

> Keeping men unemployed is an injustice to the men and an injustice to the taxpayer. . . . You can't reform a man by locking him up like a hyena. If a man has his liberty taken away from him by the state he becomes a ward of the state. A prison should be like a sanitarium. When a patient comes in you diagnose his case and prescribe for him.

Those who believe in handling prisoners humanely and in introducing an industrial system in prison work may know that they have the support of one of the most practical wardens in America.

III.

The color line reveals itself in American life in sundry manners. It is certain to make many embarrassing situations, as in other lands. A paper, published by negroes, lies before me. It states that in the federal government at Washington, D. C., there is a segregation of colored workers in at least eleven departments. The paper goes on to give details that are doubtless correct. In the Treasury there are two segregated sections; in the Navy, one; in the Census, Post Office and other departments the same discrimination is made. Colored persons are sometimes transferred in groups. Shortly after the transfer is made, the office to which they are transferred is abolished. . . . Another fact has come to my attention. The Hospital Library and Service Bureau of the American Conference on Hospital Service recently published a study of the educational facilities for colored nurses. Of 1,688 accredited schools of nursing, only 54 reported that they admit colored students; 1,588 reported that they do not. Sixty-six hospitals reported that they do and 1,576 that they do not use colored graduate nurses regularly, and 60 that they do and 1,582 that they do not employ them as "specials." Twenty-eight states were found to be without accredited schools of nursing admitting colored students. This study reveals facts I think quite typical. I am prepared to believe that in the city of Washington of the 60 tennis courts in public parks only two can be used by colored persons and these two are completely screened off from other courts; that of the 18 good golf links in the public parks, one only can be used by colored folks, and this one is in Potomac Park. Reference to the color line leads me to speak of a report recently made by Mr. McGowan of the National Catholic Welfare Conference on the influence of America in the West Indies. He characterizes this influence as making for

> political subjection, economic subjection of most of the people and their poverty and frequent unemployment, a materialistic spirit, a decline in illiteracy, better medical care and sanitation and internal peace.

He questions whether the advantages gained "should be exchanged for their political vassalage, the exceedingly ruthless exploitation of the masses of the people, a materialistic spirit, and a pressure upon them to do things our way." It is generally admitted by the average citizen that America is in the West Indies for purposes of military strategy and for the protection of investments. Underneath all this activity however is the spirit of dominance over people of color manifested by the whites. The West Indians would not be thus treated were they white. As revelations of the clash of color these instances grow important, if not ominous.

IV.

I hear the teachers talking much about the "new education"—when they are not talking about a raise in their salaries. I fell in with a neighbor, this morning, who is a teacher. I drew him out on the question, "And what is this new education that I hear about?"

> O, it is a new way of approach to the subjects taught. Take history, for example; instead of having the pupil recite a given number of pages from a text-book, the class is asked to inform themselves on some particular period of history, and then each one comes prepared to discuss the matter from his own individual viewpoint. The aim thus is to make each pupil an independent investigator—even though he may be limited in his field for gathering material. . . . The study of reading has also changed. There is little reading aloud of an assigned lesson, but much silent reading with the pupil led to be able swiftly to grasp the thought of the pages covered. The pupil is trained in creative ability so that he may do well the things that are being done in the world of which he is a part. . . . Also, in the new approach much is being made of mental tests, in order to bring upon the individual pupil the right suggestion and information at the right time. This is a hint of what is meant by the new education.

I thanked him, and he went on his way, with his dog. His remarks may not be fully illuminating, but they will give the reader a hint of what tens of thousands of teachers are attempting.

Or take what is happening at Dartmouth College. This famous New England college was once presided over by Mark Hopkins, one of America's best educators. He is the one who enters into the well-known description of a sufficient education, "With Mark Hopkins at one end of log, as teacher, and James A. Garfield at the other end of the log, as pupil—that would make a college." Dartmouth has always been a cultural college and of a high order. There is today another Hopkins at the head as president. The faculty of Dartmouth in May, 1925, decided upon a marked change in the curriculum. This involves the abolition of lectures and the substitution of the conference method, meetings in small groups for informal discussion. It is planned that the first year of college shall be used to lay before the student the various fields of knowledge, an outline of their history, and an exposition of their main problems; the second year to give the student a general background, a foundation on which he might build an education. Then will follow two years occupied in some particular field of knowledge.

> He must acquire a mastery of the principal facts and facility in the method of his chosen field and show evidence by passing a comprehensive examination at the end of the senior year. . . . Special attention is also to be paid to students of exceptional ability, who will be excused from regular class attendance and otherwise encouraged to make progress. . . . No student will be allowed to graduate who cannot write clear, logical, correct English.

Apart from the abolition of the lecture system, the most striking change is found in the attention to be paid to students of superior ability—this class comprising about 20 per cent of the undergraduate body.

> Such men shall be treated as befits their individual needs and as their individual capacities warrant. . . . It shall be the endeavor to encourage such men to self-reliance in the acquirement of education largely through their own efforts. . . . Men in the honors group shall not in their major subject be held to the ordinary rules of attendance.

The "exceptional student" has heretofore been little recognized in American college life. The class system has generally obtained, along with recitations and lectures. There have been many exceptions. Methods, however, are very rapidly changing in the direction marked by what is taking place at Dartmouth.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Anglo-Russian Rivalry, A Menace to World Peace

I.

Since the advent of the Conservative Baldwin ministry in power, British foreign policy has taken on a distinct anti-Russian color. At the present time Mr. Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister, is anxious to proceed cautiously to the ultimate end of gaining an Anglo-American-German understanding which will provide more ample security for the British Empire than the League of Nations can afford. The League of Nations does not afford security, in the true sense of the word, for any one of its participants. This is very evident from the fact that the major partners of this "diplomatic concern"—France and Great Britain—are anxious to devise means for a "Security Pact"; and France today depends more upon her defensive and offensive alliances than upon the League.

The policy of securing an Anglo-American-German understanding is nothing new for the British Government; both the Lloyd George and Macdonald Governments strove for the same end and showed distinct "love for the German people" (although the British people during the World War were clamoring that Germany should be starved into submission and the great peace advocate Lord Robert Cecil was the enforcer of this pious desire!). Mr. Chamberlain, believing, as did his late distinguished father, that an understanding with Germany would be of greater value for the British Empire than catering to France, still agrees with other conservative leaders that Great Britain for her own self-interest cannot afford to throw France over-board at the present juncture of international relations. This attitude of British statesmen is due to the experience they have had with France since the conclusion of the World War. They know that, because France was shabbily treated by the Lloyd George Government, there came into existence the Franco-Turkish understanding which led to the victory of the Turkish nationalists, undermining British prestige in the Near East and India. British statesmen understand that a disgruntled and powerful France may take steps to form a Franco-Russian understanding backed by other subsidiary alliances, so that French interests will be not easily ignored by Great Britain or any European Power. As in the past the Franco-Russian alliance through the initiative of French statesmen was developed into the Triple Entente which caused the destruction of the Central Powers, so a Franco-Russian understanding based upon common hostility or distrust towards Britain may become a Franco-Russian-German entente in Europe, and a Franco-Russian-Japanese entente in the Orient. To avoid this dreadful possibility, Great Britain is supporting the so-called "Security Pact" proposed by Dr. Stressemann, the German Foreign Minister, whose avowed object is to guarantee the peace of Europe with a cordial understanding between France, Great Britain, Germany and Belgium.

British support of the Security Pact is supposedly to assure French security against a possible German aggression; but in reality it is a step towards an Anglo-German understanding which will eventually undermine the existing cordial relations between Russia and Germany, and at the same time block all possible avenues for any direct understanding between France and Germany politically or economically which might prejudice British interests. In other words it may be said that the British support of the so-called Security Pact is due to the definite policy of winning over Germany to her side and crushing the faintest possibility of a Continental Bloc composed of Russia, Germany and France in Europe, and Germany, Russia and Japan in the Orient. Although France is not enthusiastic about the Security Pact, and has advocated an Anglo-French-American alliance (Mr. Woodrow Wilson agreed to this proposition, but the United States Senate refused to consider it), or an Anglo-French-Belgian alliance, M. Briand, realizing the absolute impossibility of securing any such alliance, has on behalf of the French Government agreed to the proposed Security Pact on principle, so that Great Britain and Germany may not come to any political understanding without France and Belgium. Another reason for the acceptance by France of the Security Pact is that her failure to subscribe to it might have been used as propaganda against her as the disturber of the peace of Europe. Should France refuse to accept the Security Pact, she might be deprived of the friendly support of Great Britain in her present Moroccan and Syrian difficulties.

Great Britain's support of the proposed Security Pact, it is well to notice, is on the condition that Germany shall enter the League of Nations and assume all obligations, including military aid against the Power which might be banned by the League in case of a conflict between a member of the League and an outsider. This has a definite bearing on the anti-Russian policy of the British Government. As long as both Russia and Germany remain outside of the League of Nations, Britain cannot bring any effective diplomatic or military pressure on Russia, in case the present Anglo-Russian rivalry assumes the shape of a conflict.

German statesmen have no desire, at the present time, to adopt a definite policy of entangling alliance with any Power; but the majority of them feel that they must accept the offer of Britain and France which will allow Germany to enter the League of Nations and to have a seat in its Council.

German statesmen do not wish to commit themselves to any anti-Russian policy. This is the very reason that the reply of Germany as to her entering the League of Nations is not unconditional, but with the reservation that Germany, in her present disarmed condition, should not be asked to undertake military obligations, nor be asked to allow an army to pass through German territory against any nation. It is also contended that after Germnay's entry into the League she may be able to recover certain German colonies in Africa. The principal reason in favor of the signing of the Security Pact by Germany, according to its advocates, is that this will raise Germany to a status equal to that of France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, so far as the League of Nations is concerned; and at the same time enable Germany to begin a new life in the international world, not as a "pariah" but as a partner of the great European Powers in the concert of nations. The defeated and outlawed Germany of yesterday is the center of European politics today, and the Allied statesmen are quite anxious to secure German support to preserve the peace of Europe!!!

According to reports from Moscow, Great Britain is definitely planning to increase her naval power in the Baltic, menacing Soviet Russia. One report says:

Moscow, July 15.—The Soviet press today announced a report of leasing by England, from Esthonia, of the islands of Dago and Esel. The information, which it is asserted is received here from an absolutely authentic source, states an agreement has already been reached for a long term lease giving England the right to organize the islands as a naval base, build necessary fortifications and collect the income of the islands.

Political circles here regard the creation by England of a military and naval base on the islands as a gesture exclusively directed against Soviet Russia. Referring to the information in an editorial, the Pravda says that it supplies further proof of intrigues England carries on among the Baltic States against the Soviet Union.

I cannot verify this report; but there is no doubt that the recent British naval demonstration in the Baltic was to encourage the Baltic states in their anti-Russian policy and to intimate to Soviet Russia that the British navy will act to protect British interests in the Baltic. The Russians have reason to believe that the British efforts in increasing her naval strength in the Mediterranean can be directed against Russia as well as France, and are a step towards mobilization against Japan and a threat to Turkey in the Mosul dispute. British tenacity in maintaining her naval control over the Persian Gulf is also an indirect menace to Russia. The British determination to increase the air forces in Asia, and to establish a formidable naval and air base at Singapore, is a warning to all Asiatic powers, especially Japan, Russia, China and France. According to the Russian point of view, the British Government, in the Baltic, in the Mediterranean, in the Persian Gulf, in the Pacific, and in the Indian oceans, is blocking every Russian outlet to the sea. Soviet Russia craves for an outlet to the sea today just as much as did Tsarist Russia before the revolution. The form of government in Russia has changed, her internal policy and organization has been radically modified; but the Russian national ambition has taken a more determined form, although it has a less aggressive outward appearance, which is often the case with all democratic imperialisms, including that of Great Britain.

While Soviet Russia feels that Great Britain is always barring her way to the realization of her national ambitions, she knows that Great Britain's anti-Russian policy is due to Russian efforts to undermine British power and prestige in the Orient. Soviet Russia, for her own political reasons, supported Persia against England, and repudiated the Anglo-Russian agreement regarding Persia. She materially aided Turkey in her conflict against Greece, which was a tool of Great Britain. She helped Afghanistan to assert her complete independence, and thus defeated the British policy of controlling Afghan foreign affairs and reducing her to a virtual British dependency, like the Indian Native States. British statesmen, including British Labor leaders such as Mr. Thomas and Ramsay MacDonald, have been complaining against Soviet intrigue in India. Today the British Government is face to face with the Soviet Government in China and the Far East.

Tsarist Russia is gone, and Soviet Russia has taken its place; but there is no fundamental change in Russian attitude toward world politics. Tsarist Russia followed the policy of territorial expansion and direct action which came in conflict with British imperial interests. The present Soviet Government is not anxious to take any risk for further territorial expansion, and is thus not interested in any policy of annexation; but it is using all its energy to consolidate the vast Russian Empire, rousing the masses to a greater national efficiency, and at the same time increasing its influence in world politics.

At the present time the Soviet Government is following a vigorous policy in the Far East, the success of which must re-act against Britain in the Orient. It is fighting Great Britain through its activities in China. Chinese nationalist agitation against British and other foreign interests does not hurt Russia; on the other hand it materially increases Russian influence, in proportion to the success of the Chinese in weakening the political and economic hold of Great Britain and other Powers. As Great Britain patronized and aided the Arab leaders militarily and financially against Turkey, so Soviet Russia, following the same method, is spending large sums to stimulate anti-British agitation in China and elsewhere.

II

It is rather fortunate for the Soviet Government that the present British foreign policy is anti-Japanese in spirit, and that Japan is also facing enmity of the United States. This condition frees the Soviet Government from any fear of Japan being supported by the British and American Governments as was the case before the Russo-Japanese war.

At present Soviet diplomacy in the Far East is, on the one hand, to show friendliness both to China and Japan, and on the other hand to do all that is necessary to keep Japan and China apart, so that these two nations may not be able to form a common policy in matters of national defense and foreign relations. The present-day Soviet support of China through the Chinese radicals is nothing but the repetition of the Tsarist policy of aiding China against Japan, so that China and Japan would not make a common cause against Russia. While the Soviet Government is professing friendship towards China, it is very active in consolidating its supremacy in Mongolia by reducing the latter country to the position of a Russian dependency. The Soviet Government is also interested in securing the Russian domination of Chinese railways in Manchuria. In these respects there is not the least difference between the Soviet policy and the old Tsarist policy.

Today Great Britain is at a disadvantage in the Far East, because she is not only opposed by Russia and China, but the British policy being anti-Japanese, is also meeting with Japanese opposition. This situation is at the back of British enthusiasm for the so-called Security Pact, which would prevent either Germany or France opposing effectively British foreign policy which is based upon the formula of "maintenance of British imperial interest through British Control of the region from the Suez to Shanghai."

Great Britain is thus facing the active opposition of Russia, China and Japan in the Far East. France also cannot favor the British naval policy in the Mediterranean and at Singapore. But, France cannot take any active part against Britain because of the Moroccan and Syrian situations, and also because of the fear of an Anglo-German combination against her. Great Britain has very cleverly adopted an apparently friendly attitude towards France, so that the latter would not in desperation join hands with Britain's avowed enemies. However, the only nation upon whose support in the Orient and world politics at large Britain is especially counting, is the United States of America. The fact that the American Government has not recognized the Soviet Government, has influenced the policy of the British Tory Government to an aggressive hostility to Russia.

The Soviet Government is deeply concerned to win the good will of the United States and to secure its recognition and friendship. One of the means adopted by the Soviet leaders to acomplish this end is to show preference to American capitalists in matters of offering valuable concessions. Recently the Harriman interests have been accorded a most valuable concession—monopolistic in character—to exploit the Manganese fields in the Chiatouri districts of Georgia, which will give an approximate profit of $120,000,000 to the Harriman interests and about $62,000,000 in royalties to the Soviet Government during the period of twenty years.

The Soviet authorities are so anxious to secure the good will of the American government that even after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese agreement, members of the Third Internationale have repeatedly given out the statement that Russia would prefer an understanding with the United States of America in place of the present Russo-Japanese agreement. It is notorious that Russia first offered the Saghalien concessions to Americans, but because the American Government did not recognize the Soviet Government, the concessions were given to Japanese. Even Mr. Karakhan, the Soviet Ambassador to Peking, has repeatedly stated that Russia will gladly co-operate with the United States in China, provided the American policy be in the interest of China.

It seems to us that Russia will undoubtedly support American proposals regarding an international conference for the solution of the problems of extra-territoriality in China. The principal motive behind this action is not that Russia believes in American professions of altruism towards China, but that Russia desires to create differences between the United States and Great Britain on the one hand and between Great Britain and China on the other. The Soviet estimate of American altruism in world affairs has been well expressed in the following comment based upon an editorial in the Russian paper *Izevestia:*—

> Discussing English policy in China in an editorial, *Izevestia* points out that the line of world policy of England is beginning radically to diverge from that of the United States towards China. It regards the American proposal for an international conference on affairs of China as acceptable to all Powers while England is held to be alone interested in complete suppression of the Chinese national movement and the carrying on there of a policy of extreme bloody repression.
>
> Recapitulating further on America's policy, *Izevestia* writes: "After a long voluntary isolation, America is now gradually entering on the international political arena, slowly but surely conquering for herself a supreme world situation which she is trying to consolidate everywhere. Somewhere she goes together with England but there is evidence that soon England will find herself in the position of the Moor who realized his work was done. America's policy is more and more receiving the character of aggressive pacifism, under a mask under which, as in the case of Dawes' system, she consolidates her economic, military and naval supremacy. By means of humanitarian slogans she undermines both her adherents and adversaries working for her own supremacy."

If the so-called "Security Pact," which is so warmly supported by the British Government, becomes an accomplished fact, it would mean a great diplomatic victory for Britain, assuring her, at least for the present, that she has nothing to fear from France or Germany. Then she will feel free to use her full pressure in the Orient against Russia, China and Japan, individually or collectively.

The Russian statesmen see that if the Security Pact is an accomplished fact, it may hurt Russia. So the very day Dr. Stressemann received the invitation of the Allied Powers to a Ministers' Conference the first week in October, it was reported in Paris that M. Krassin, the Soviet Ambassador, had presented an idea of Franco-Russian agreement including Asia. By this agreement Russia would agree to pay 50% of the Russian bonds held by the French people, and France would give back the Russian fleet (so-called Wrangel fleet) which is now in French possession. It has been also reported that Soviet Russia is willing to make an agreement with Poland and Czechoslovakia and another agreement with Italy and Roumania regarding Besarabia. The special correspondent of the London *Times* from Geneva writes:

> Apart from the eagerness to spoil play in a big European enterprise for peace, the Bolshevists are certainly anxious to insure themselves provisionally on their western frontiers, in order to devote their main efforts to revolutionary schemes in Asia. Of this feature of their present policy the Turkish delegation that is now negotiating on the Mosul question in Geneva is fully aware.

It is practically impossible to predict any definite policy in matters of international politics, because policy changes like a swinging pendulum, although the ultimate idea remains constant. However, we venture to predict that, under the existing conditions, the line of policy followed by Great Britain will be that of establishing a common policy with the United States, while facing Russia, Japan and China separately and frustrating every move toward combined action between these three nations, and if possible winning over one of them to the side of Anglo-American diplomacy.

There is no reason to believe that Britain will make a serious effort to win over Russia and succeed in the attempt, when she is following the present anti-Russian policy. It will be a very unexpected thing if Anglo-American statesmen decide to form an Anglo-American-Japanese understanding against Russia. The Anglo-American statesmen will reject the very idea of it, because it would enormously strengthen Japan politically, navally and militarily, and force them (Anglo-American statesmen) to give up *"the policy of isolating Japan,"* which is being pursued by them persistently and systematically. Thus it seems certain that Anglo-American statesmen will try to win China to their side.

British statesmen will be forced to change their present policy in China and to accept American leadership, as they did when John Hay declared the "Open Door." It is quite possible that if Great Britain follows the American policy regarding China, then through American leadership, the Anglo-American statesmen will succeed in winning China to their side. The speech of Mr. Baldwin, the British Premier, before the China Society in London, on September 18th, foreshadows that Britain will change her policy towards China and act with America. However, if the Anglo-American statesmen can win over China to their side, this will not abate the existing Anglo-Russian rivalry. On the contrary it will accentuate it. As things stand in world politics, it can be safely asserted that the present Anglo-Russian rivalry within a few years will result in an Anglo-Russian War or a World War, in which Russia and Great Britain will be on opposite sides.

In the diplomatic conflict that is now raging between Britain and Russia, it is apparent that Britain is winning in the European arena, while Russia is combating Britain's anti-Russian policy by a vigorous attack in the Orient. It may be said that whatever success Britain may achieve in European politics against Russia is rather negative, because there is no possibility of any

combination of Powers in Europe which will be able to crush Soviet Russia so long as the Soviet Government can concentrate its strength on one front only. Soviet Russia's largest front is not in Europe but in Asia, in the East and South. Thus the question of national security has forced Soviet Russia to be friendly with Asiatic Powers whose frontiers touch those of hers. The Soviet leaders are rousing the Asiatic Powers against Britain to fight their own battle against the latter through Asiatic support. Thus the Soviet policy in Asia is purely opportunistic and to preserve her national interest, and devoid of any tinge of that altruism which is so often heralded by the leaders of Soviet Russia. It is the game of "Real Politics" in international relations, and none can blame them for this grand stand play.

Soviet Russia is alert and has taken steps to increase her naval power in the Far East (and also in the Black Sea region, if that is possible). The following dispatch is the Russian answer to British naval policy which is regarded by the Soviet leaders as anti-Russian:—

Belgrade, September 9, 1925.—Early next month a Soviet naval squadron will start a world cruise, according to information received here from Moscow. The ships will be the dreadnought Marat (formerly Petropavlosky), the cruisers Ravotcy, Iljitch and Communist (formerly Novik), and will be under the command of Admiral Wasilieff.

The fleet is to call at Riga, Stettin, Toulon, Genoa, the Italian ports on the Adriatic and Constantinople. If in the meantime Turkey has assented to strengthening of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea the squadron will proceed to Sebastopol, where the Marat will remain. Otherwise the route from Constantinople will be via Gibraltar, Dakar, South Africa, Madagascar, Ceylon and Japan to Vladivostok, where it will be stationed as a permanent re-inforcement of the Russian naval forces in the Far East.

The presence of the Russian fleet in French ports will undoubtedly arouse French imagination as to the value of Russian friendship; it will certainly bring back to the minds of the French people and statesmen the memory of the boons of the Franco-Russian Alliance—what it did for France in the past, particularly during the Morocco crisis and the World War. A friendly call of the Russian fleet in the Italian ports will convince the Italians that these two nations have much in common in curbing the inordinate ambition of Roumania. The visit of the Russian fleet to Constantinople may serve as an encouragement to the Turks to take a vigorous stand against the British attitude on the Mosul question. None should forget that the Russo-Turkish agreement was a factor in the defeat of Greece by Turkey, which resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, making the Angora Government more powerful than ever before.

The strengthening of Russian naval power at Vladivostok will certainly result in increasing her prestige in China, and it will be a fore-runner of a vigorous and positive policy in the Far East, as was the case after 1895, when the Russian fleet appeared in the Pacific, and after the Sino-Japanese War when Russia with the support of France and Germany interposed in favor of China and forced Japan to revise the first treaty of Simonosaki. Increasing the naval strength of Russia in the Far East may be a part of the recently concluded Russo-Japanese agreement; it may even induce the anti-Japanese American statesmen to recognize the Soviet Government with the expectation that Russia will co-operate with America against Japan.

Whatever may be the final result, it is certain that this move will force other nations to take notice of Russia. It will enable the Soviet Government to assert that, in the future settlements of "the problems of the Pacific," Russia must not be ignored. And undoubtedly it will increase the hostility of Britain against the growing power of Russia in the Orient.

Without going into details, it can be asserted that in future international affairs, Germany in Europe and India in Asia will become very important factors. If the present diplomatic conflict between Russia and Britain breaks into a war, what will be the position of the members of the League of Nations including India and Germany (the latter may become a member of the League of Nations in near future)? What will be the attitude of the United States in such an emergency? Will the United States again go to war in support of the British Empire?

As Anglo-Russian rivalry in world politics is a fact today, and as it is centered in the Orient, will not India, in case of war, have to bear the major burden of saving the British Empire in Asia? Will it be to her interest to go into another war? What will be the price she must ask in advance, and secure, before she takes sides in the conflict? Will she be able to remain neutral, if it be the best thing for her, to serve her national interest? Is India prepared to do so? Is India prepared to take charge of her national defense in any case, and particularly to enforce the policy of armed neutrality? These questions may be superfluous for Indian statesmen to consider today, because India has no voice in the matter of controlling her foreign policy and national defense. Indian statesmen even today think that the question of self-government for India is an internal affair for India and they must not bother about the serious problems of national defense and international relations; but they forget that the internal situation of a country is always and very largely influenced by its foreign relations and the condition of national defense. To secure real self-government, India must have control of her foreign relations and national defense; and the question of Anglo-Rusian rivalry, among other present factors in international relations, should receive the earnest consideration of Indian statesmen and the British rulers of India.

Munich, Germany. TARAKNATH DAS.

"PEACE, PEACE TO HIM THAT IS FAR OFF AND PEACE TO HIM THAT IS NEAR"

O Father, Gracious and Divine, we now
Give thanks for thy most tender guardianship,
Thy presence in this country, in our homes,
Beside still waters, in green pastures, everywhere;
Thou art our hope, our most sincere desire;
Each day thy strength uplifts us, guides our steps
To perfect understanding, gives us grace
And wisdom to accept thy precious gifts.

O Father, draw all nations and all men
Into a closer comradship with Thee;
Increase their courage and their confidence;
Give them pure hearts and open minds, a sense
Of universal brotherhood. Let peace
Bless every human heart, both far and near.

MILLICENT DAVIS DILLEY.

THE STUDY TABLE

Reviews by JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

An Attempt to Explain Wilson

Mr. White makes a brave attempt in this book* to explain the enigma of Woodrow Wilson, but the result is hardly convincing. The trouble is too little exact data, and too much arbitrary thesis. What Mr. White sees in Wilson is an extraordinary product of heredity —a curious mixture of hard Scotch Woodrow and exuberant Irish Wilson. The combination was "set," so to speak, by the infiltration from both sides of Presbyterianism of the extreme Calvinistic type. The result was a man within whose life a battle of temperaments was raging all his life on a field unfavorable to any decisive or beneficent issue of the conflict. To himself, as to everybody else, Woodrow Wilson was a contradiction, and the outcome of his life to a large extent frustration. Many a reader, as he follows Mr. White's story, must remember what the author himself does not seem to recall—namely, Paul's pathetic confession, "That which I do I know not; for not what I would, that do I practise."

The thesis is interesting, but it works out too neatly, or so it seems to us. We cannot believe that any man's life and character can be analyzed quite so simply as this in terms of heredity strains and a dominant religious influence. There were other factors, we must believe, which played their part in Wilson's drama and complicated the scheme. Perhaps even so arbitrary a thesis might have been made plausible, had not the author made a kind of melody out of it for the playing of the greatest array of sentimental variations that we have encountered in recent biographical writing. This is biography of the old Jacob Abbott school, and seems strangely out of place in these late days of Stratchey, Guedalal, and Bradford.

It is in the last half of his volume, where Mr. White tells the tale of the presidential tragedy, that his work becomes valuable. Here he very largely forgets his heredity thesis, drops his sentimentalism, and follows the record with vigor and impartiality. He gives full credit to Woodrow Wilson for his immortal leadership in the world of ideas and ideals during the period of the Great War. He defends his course in taking America into the conflict, and does not believe that this involved any betrayal of his election pledges in 1916. The "He Kept Us Out of War" slogan, says Mr. White, played little part in the campaign of that year, and was in no way decisive. He affirms that Mr. Wilson's statesmanship did more to defeat the Germans than any other one factor except the blockade of the British fleet. On the other hand Mr. White thinks that President Wilson should not have gone to Paris, at least the second time, and in any case should have sent a delegation to the Peace Conference which held the respect of the country, and included enough distinguished Republican leaders to bind the Republican party to the Wilsonian chariot-wheel. Mr. White seems uncertain as to whether Wilson did wisely to remain in the Peace Conference after his betrayal began—should not the gesture of recalling the "George Washington" have been something more than a gesture? But he feels no uncertainty at all that Wilson defeated his own best purposes in the Treaty fight in the Senate by refusing to accept the famous reservations. Mr. Wilson's great weakness, says Mr. White, was his life-besetting illusion that he had "a first-class mind." As to final judgment, this must wait upon what happens to the League of Nations. This was Wilson's one supreme achievement—the reward for which he bartered everything.

> He must live or die in world fame bound up in the League of Nations. If that stands, he may tower beside it as the Washington of a World Federation. If the League of Nations crumbles . . . then Wilson will become one of the host of good men who spent their zeal striving for futile things (page 486).

With Wilson as with Lenin, a real biography has yet to be written. Ray Stannard Baker's promised work is eagerly awaited.

* "Woodrow Wilson," by William Allen White, published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company, New York.

A Book of Indian Immortals

We are in receipt from India of a copy of a striking book—"The Apostles and Missionaries of the Navadidhan."* This handsome volume contains pictures and brief biographical accounts of departed leaders of what is one of the most remarkable and beneficent religious movements in modern India. Many of these men are familiar to liberal religionists in this part of the world, as for example Ram Mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, and Devendra Nath Tagore. Particularly notable to us is the name of Protap Chandra Mozoomdar, whom we remember hearing years ago in the Boston pulpit of Dr. Minot J. Savage. We were only a very small boy at the time, but we recall as distinctly as though it were yesterday the ineffable beauty of this prophet's utterance. Mozoomdar on that day touched heights of poetry and disclosed far visions of spirituality which have all too seldom been known in our life. From that day to this we have had the feeling that the Indian genius moves in a world which we westerners have not yet discovered.

Mrs. Wharton's New Novel

Mrs. Wharton has done distinguished work in her time, and is rightly ranked high among contemporary American authors. "The House of Mirth" was something more and better than a great popular success. "The Age of Innocence" was a triumph of artistry, and a lovely expression of true feeling. "The Old Maid" is a great short story. "Ethan Frome" has become a classic in the life-time of its author.

Mrs. Wharton's latest novel† is not to be classed with this list. Its theme—a mother's lover become the suitor of that mother's daughter—is old enough to retire. The telling of the tale is prolix and unimaginative. Fine episodes do not compensate for a heavy and tedious narrative. The end is utterly futile, the story becoming nothing more than an idle "much ado about nothing." Artificial excitement and pretentious philosophy only serve to reveal the poverty of the whole performance.

Mrs. Wharton is in great danger of repeating the unhappy experience of her English prototype, Mrs. Humphry Ward. Is it too late for her to read the signals of Willa Cather and Zona Gale?

* Published by Niranjan Niyogy, Calcutta, India.

† "The Mother's Recompense," by Edith Wharton. Published by Appleton, New York.

CORRESPONDENCE

AN ENGLISHMAN IN CENTRAL EUROPE
(From our Editorial Correspondent.)

Editor of UNITY:

I left Budapest at the end of July and stayed a few days in Vienna to meet the workers at the Society of Friends' Mission. It had been my intention to return to London earlier but there had been an idea that I should visit Sophia and investigate the conditions of distress and suffering in that city. It was decided to postpone this investigation till a later date.

From Vienna I travelled to Nuremberg in Germany and there saw some of the fruits of those deeds of brotherhood and goodwill which the Society of Friends carried on during the actual war in England. We had befriended, amongst the thousands of families of alien-enemies in England in distress, a German waiter and his wife and five children. The wife and children went to relatives in Bavaria early in the war and I was asked by the Friends' Relief Committee to befriend and assist the man. After the sinking of the Lusitania he was interned in the Isle of Man and here I corresponded with him and sent him small gifts. After the armistice he was repatriated. During the war years the wife and her five English-born children had settled in Nuremberg where she found work and a small flat. She told me that for 4 or 5 days they all slept on the bare boards but bit by bit she bought pieces of furniture and started her little home. As the children at first only spoke English, they had many difficulties and trials to face. During the food shortage the mother went out into the country every two weeks and brought back heavy bundles of food. She worked in a factory but refused to touch any work that had to do with the manufacture of war materials and the manager fully understanding her feelings and principles put her to suitable machine work. For over five years she never missed one hour at her work and received recognition from the firm when she definitely left after the Peace Treaty was signed. The husband told me when he finally returned to Germany he expected to find his family badly housed, badly clothed and in delicate health, but his joy and surprise were indescribable as he was met at the station by the family looking well and respectable. It was only when he learned the truth of his wife's wonderful and self-sacrificing struggle that he became filled with admiration.

It is a fine story of that mother love which keeps the world pure and noble, and also shows how the evils of war and the ruin of warmakers bring much suffering even to innocent women and children.

I had frequently (since the war) seen this man and his family as I passed through the station at Nuremberg and at last after repeated invitations I went to be their guest in the clean workman's flat in this beautiful city. What a welcome it was—questions were asked about many of the Society of Friends' Relief Workers; about the London street in which they had lived and of the English neighbors who came out to bid a kindly farewell to the mother and her 5 children as she set out on her difficult journey during the war to Germany; of my own church in Kentish Town where the man had attended and found other alien enemies worshipping the Great Universal Father of all men; and of English life and modes of thought on Internationalism.

This family was indeed grateful for all that the Society of Friends' women had done for them in England and I was touched by a little personal good feeling for my own humble work. The man had kept during his internment at the Isle of Man and again in Germany a photo I had given him, it was faded almost beyond recognition. After the family reunion a child was born and named after me.

Now this whole family along with others who had lived in England, and many where the wives and children were English born, attend the Quaker Meeting and social clubs in the city, thus keeping alive a spark of kindly remembrance to England, a desire for international goodwill and brotherhood, and an undying longing for World Peace. It was interesting to learn that the Quaker workers were teaching the English born women the German language and doing all they could to destroy hate and create love.

From Nuremberg I travelled to Cologne and stayed with a friend who had been a military prisoner of war in one of the military camps in England. Previous to the war he had known and admired England and prized her friendships, and today he delights still in his knowledge of our nation and above all at the restoration of old friendships. He arranged an evening gathering of other military prisoners of war whom I had met in the English camps as visitor for the Society of Friends' Relief Mission by permission of the war office. One of the commandants of the camp had been a true English gentleman, treating these men as prisoners of war and not as criminals and he won the affection of the men. They asked so warmly after him and begged me to find out his address that they might write and express their sense of gratitude to him. None of these men bore any ill-will to their former enemies. This speaks well of our prisoner of war camps in general and especially of the humane work done by the Friends' Mission and Dr. Marhel's Committee in providing games, music, workshops, libraries, extras for hospitals, etc. These men were all keen haters of war until about a year and a half or two years ago, but it is sad to note a changed spirit against France. We must all hope and work and pray that the coming diplomacy may be able to relieve the tension and find means of bringing Germans and Frenchmen to better industrial, social and political relations for indeed there are many intelligent groups of workers and writers in both countries who want reconciliation, and the creating of a will to peace and an outlawry of war.

The extraordinary energy and earnest determination to rebuild the new Germany is astonishing to foreign visitors but the Germans have three great means of salvation—Hope, Work and Faith. Would that more and more Americans and Englishmen would visit Germany and Austria and Hungary for then they would see many injustices of the Peace Treaty and the Reparations, and also the great fact that Germany also was not responsible for the war, that she can be no longer regarded as the *chief* sinner and that the guilt lies in the diplomacy of the past 20 years or more and falls in varying degrees on the leaders of many nations.

In Hungary conditions have improved, as regards the actual economic, social and political life, though in Budapest, the capital city of the greatly reduced Hungarian kingdom there are many factors which are only improved in comparison with the terrible years immediately following the Peace Treaty and the Communism. While the Kronen is stabilized and the state budget is satisfactory, there is increasing unemployment and distressing poverty.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to report that the large political internment camp at Zala Egerszeg is now closed and all political suspects are freed, but there are still men and women imprisoned for political offences and of course those who are exiled in Austria, Czechoslovakia or elsewhere. The families of these persons are often in great need. . . .

It is impossible for Americans or Englishmen to understand the actual starvation which many of the people of Central Europe endured. One friend told me of seeing bread made partly of sawdust and of it having to be kept a few days till the bread got damp and therefore soft enough to eat, and another, a doctor's wife, of her new-born baby, (like many others) being brought up at one period on water that had been soaked in rice.

The more we are acquainted with the actual facts of war as it left the battle fronts and entered the very homes of the people, the more must we of this generation labor to use our experiences for the abolition of war as a means of settling international disputes. The danger even today of Fascists and of Bolshevists is that both think that force alone can right the wrong, while it is reason, mutual understanding, meeting one another face to face, and applying the old messages of love, brotherhood and goodwill, not as mere forms but as living sparks from the human heart, that are needed today wherever men are dissatisfied with injustice, irritated by oppressions, or quarreling over some matter concerning national honor or financial rights or frontier questions.

So many corners of this world seem to have some particular evil crying out for redress, and all we can do is to keep our hearts and minds free from prejudices of race, or color, or religion, or social position, to pledge ourselves to grant others the freedom and justice we ourselves enjoy, and then to keep with hands or purse or brain some special corner in which we are interested and give it our support and fellowship.

London, England. FRED HANKINSON.

COMMENDATION FROM AN EDITOR

Calcium, N. Y.

Editor of UNITY:

While some of the things you print in UNITY hit me crosswise, and while some of the things you have to say lead to, in my opinion, a result other than unity, I want to commend your printing of what the *Manufacturers Record* found about prohibition. These fellows who say that prohibition is a

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

WILFRED WELLOCK

Wilfred Wellock, representative of the British Labor Party, author, traveler and war-resister, has just come to Seattle, as part of a speaking tour of five weeks from Chicago back to Chicago. He spoke in Minneapolis and Winnipeg (four times on Oct. 4), Regina, Vancouver and at other Canadian points. Next week he speaks several days about Portland, speaking for Reed College, First Christian Church, Pacific College, Lincoln High School, League of Women Voters, etc. On October 25-28 he is in Los Angeles, under the guidance of Dr. Robert Whitaker; on October 29-Nov. 2, in San Francisco under the guidance of Rev. Elmo A. Robinson, Palo Alto.

I have already heard him twice in Seattle. He is splendid. Here he speaks for the Fellowship, the Labor Council, the Labor College, the Y. M. C. A. and the Democratic Club.

He arrives in Chicago Sunday morning, Nov. 8th, from St. Louis, and after a few days in Chicago proceeds eastward toward the Atlantic Coast. Should anyone wish to secure his services — somewhere between Chicago and New York — he may be reached, care Hull House, Chicago, or Bishop Paul Jones, Bible House, New York City. He charges no fee. He would, however, like to meet his traveling expenses by his lecturing.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Seattle, Oct. 15, 1925.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Congress on Peace and Security and Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, Detroit, Michigan, November 10-12, 1925.

Among the speakers invited to appear on the program are: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, D.D., Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D., Rev. William P. Merrill, D.D., Rabbi Alexander Lyons, Dean Shailer Mathews, Rev. Alexander Ramsay, D.D., Bishop Motoda, Hon. Newton Wesley Rowell, Mr. Fred B. Smith, Rev. Peter Ainslie, D.D., Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D.D., Mr. Theodore Marburg, Prof. David Hunter Miller, Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent, D.D.

The Detroit Council of Churches is co-operating in the arrangements and will act as host of the occasion.

Delegates make their own arrangements for hotel accommodations.

Tentative Program

Tuesday, November 10, 1925.

Afternoon Session, 2:30 o'clock.—Hotel Statler. Registration of Delegates and Visitors. Business Session. Reports of Officers.

4:00 o'clock.—Address: Rev. William P. Merrill, D.D.
Address: Mr. Fred B. Smith.

Evening Session, 7:00 o'clock. — Hotel Stattler. Banquet. Topic: "The Securifty of Friendship."
Speakers:

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.
Rev. Alexander Ramsay, D.D.
Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D.D.
Wednesday, November 11, 1925.

Morning Session, 10:00 o'clock.—Hotel Statler. Topic: "The Problem of Security Stated."

(a) The Question of Sanctions.
(b) The Use of Armed Force.
(c) Economic Boycott.
(d) Security through International Agreement.
(e) Security through the World Court.

Afternoon Session, 2:30 o'clock.—Hotel Statler. Business Session.

3:00 o'clock.—Hotel Statler. Topic: "Security in the Pacific."

Evening Session, 8:00 o'clock.—Public Meeting. Topic: "National Security and World Peace."

Thursday, November 12, 1925.

Morning Session, 9:30 o'clock.—Hotel Statler. Topic: "The Church and Security."

Afternoon Session, 2:30 o'clock.—Hotel Statler. Final Business Session. Election of Directors and Officers. Reports, Resolutions and Discussion.

4:00 o'clock.—Hotel Statler. Closing Address.
Adjournment.

AN ALL-INDIA MEMORIAL

We, the undersigned, are of opinion that an all-India fund is as much a necessity as an all-Bengal one to perpetuate the memory of Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das.* He was as much an all-India man as he was an all-Bengal man. Just as we knew what Deshabandhu would have himself wished us to do as an all-Bengal Memorial so do we know what he would have wished us to do regarding an all-India Memorial. His idea was clearly expressed over a year ago and repeated in his Faridpur Speech that village reconstruction was the thing dearest and nearest his heart for the regeneration of India and for the attainment of Swaraj along peaceful and evolutionary lines. We know, too, that he believed that the beginning and the center of such activity lay in the revival and development of hand-spinning in villages and universalization of Khaddar. It is the one activity that can de made common to all-India and yet can be handled with the least cost. It is the one activity that is calculated to yield immediate results, be they ever so small. All people, rich and poor, young and old, men and women, can personally help and engage in it if they will. It can, as nothing else can, bind the city people to the villagers and introduce the educated class to them in a most useful manner. It is the one activity that can

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failure, even though they are strictly non-alcoholic themselves and want the laws changed, lack what my father used to call stamina, but in the more modern phrase is called nothing more than plain "guts."

Anyway, I won't take your time either finding fault or commending further, but I want you to know how one editor takes the things you have to tell.

Very truly yours,

MADISON COOPER.

THE COUNTY LIBRARY WAGON

Bakersfield, California, Sept. 2, 1925.

Editor of UNITY:

Under the heading "American Notes" in your issue of August 10th is the statement that "in California the County 'library-wagon' plies its vocation in 42 counties, working under a state law,—a law which 'permits' any county to install the 'county-wagon' plan." Will you kindly permit me a few words of correction?

There is not a "County library wagon" in the state, if by such nomenclature is meant the book-wagon automobile which visits rural homes for the distribution of books. Most of the forty-two counties have automobiles by means of which the county librarian may visit branches, stations and schools affiliated with the County Library. Some counties also have trucks which carry books and other material to and from those distributing points which are more easily reached by this means, than by parcel post or express. In certain cities an auto truck can make deliveries of large packages of books at branches or schools more rapidly than would be otherwise possible, but the picturesque "book wagon" which carries books to the door of the farmer is not adapted to California counties which are in most instances larger than many of the eastern states. Kern County is as large as the state of Massachusetts. Imagine the absurdity of trying to cover more than 8,000 sq. mi. by means of a "book wagon." Instead we build branch library buildings in the larger towns and equip them with the best books and magazines, as well as the best of library furniture. Where it is necessary to keep the library open all day we employ trained librarians for these branches. Special requests are sent in continually and shipments of books come and go between the branch and headquarters constantly. If the book desired at the branch is not there, it may be asked for, and will be sent as soon as available. It may come from the county library or it may be borrowed from the State Library.

The California County Library Law permits the Board of Supervisors of any county to establish a county library for the benefit of that part of the county lying outside of incorporated cities and towns maintaining free public libraries. Cities and towns desiring to do so may become a part of the county library system and may share in the tax for this purpose.

There are many picturesque features in California County Library work but the "book wagon" is not one of them.

Sincerely yours,

JULIA G. BABCOCK,
Librarian.

be common to all the Provinces and all the sects of India and produce the largest economic results. Lastly, though it has a political side, it is in its nature so obviously social and economical that it should enlist the support of all, without distinction of party, who believe in the spinning wheel as a great economic factor and as a factor in village reconstruction.

We, therefore, cannot conceive a more fitting Memorial than the universal propagation of the spinning wheel and Khaddar and therefore invite funds for that purpose. We refrain from naming the sum required for this Memorial as it can absorb all it can receive. The subscription given by the public will be the measure of their regard for the memory of the deceased patriot, of their belief in the usefulness of the form the Memorial is to take and of their trust in those who are to handle and operate on the funds. They will be Sjt. M. K. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Roy, Shrimati Sarojini Devi, Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with power to add to their number. Pandit Jawarharlal has consented to act as Hon. Secretary for the Trustees and Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj as Treasurer. Remittances should be sent to Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj, 395, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, or to Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru, 107, Hewett Road, Allahabad. A full list of donations will be sent to the Press for publication from week to week.

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*Better known in this country as C. R. Das, the late leader with Gandhi of the Indian Swarajists.—Ed.

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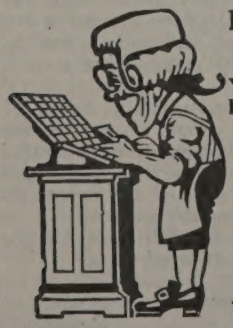
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